1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
[211] to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
Uren	604
Bri-bri	172
Cabecar	128
The Valley	219
Total	1226

This covers all of the water-sheds of the Tilorio and Tiliri rivers except two small bands; the Changinas on the Changina branch of the Tilorio and a refugee remnant of the Cabecars on the extreme head of the Tiliri. Probably an additional hundred would cover all of these.

On the North or Estrella river, and on the Chiripo, there are a few more Cabecars who have little communication with the headquarters of the tribe, but who are in the habit of going out to Limon or Matina for what little trade they require. These are probably in all, not more than 200 or 300 in number. Nearly all speak Spanish and they are gradually approximating to civilized or semi-civilized ways.

[461] The cause of the rapid decrease in the population is their extreme in-
146 dolence. With a country fitted to produce all the fruits of the tropics;
262 where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase without care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of enteric fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the
165 two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

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123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-se'-ku-ru* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *ba-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *ba-ku-ru'*.

474 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and
574 re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

24] No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and
[461 the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A
273] man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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tains boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *máh'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uren. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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● 273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. [249] Small quantities of sugar cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important [439] food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejibalie* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwo, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kilili*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually stemmed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

opposite sides of the break. Pl. XIV, *b*, shows another utensil, similar to the last, but shallower. These objects are used as sieves for corn flour. 415

Pottery.—Possibly the most interesting of all Bribri household articles are the huge pottery jars (pl. XV, XV, *a*) used in fermenting *chicha*, the native intoxicant. According to information given by the Indians, these vessels are made of selected clay, which is ground on a metate and mixed with crushed, burnt stone, or coarse sand. The clay is then dampened and made into rolls, and the vessels are built up, coil by coil, and the rolls smoothed. On some abandoned camp-sites, large potsherds, broken so that they plainly showed the coils as well as the tempering, were found. After being shaped and smoothed, the vessels are dried slowly in the shade for several days; then one vessel at a time is taken outdoors, wood is heaped over them, and they are fired. 323 415 [273]

In shape these vessels differ entirely from the pottery found in the graves at Las Mercedes, but resemble the pointed-base Algonkian jars of the Atlantic coast of North America 415 171

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 262 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe, plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste, and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejibalie palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate, 415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *e*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

251 **Food Storage.** Corn is kept in large *habas* (see p. 15), in small raised-off-the-ground houses behind the main house, or on the wooden platforms, or *tabancos*, in the main house. The corn is shucked and left on the cob. Rice, unhusked, and various foodstuffs are also kept in these houses or on the more common *tabanco*. Eggs are hung in baskets of armadillo hide in the storage houses, or on the walls of the kitchen. Smoked fish and meat are also kept on *tabancos* in the kitchen, or hanging from the walls.

272 **Drinks.** *Tivia* (see p. 20), the liquid remaining from cocoa-butter, is drunk plain, or,

[412]

FIG. 2. Wooden masher for chicha; size, length, 22 inches.

at times, ground corn, and, very seldom, ginger is added. *Tivia*, which is also called *kao*, is ground cacao that has been mixed with water, cooked, and beaten with water. It is taken plain without sugar, or it is mixed with roasted ripe plantains.

273 Chicha is made from old corn alone, or mixed with pejibaye, or with ripe or green plantains, or with ñampí, or with yuca, or with diverse starches.

Two kinds of corn chicha are made. One kind is made with a yeast, and consequently is known as *monsera*, which is the word for yeast. This chicha is used regularly at all celebrations, and in some houses almost daily.

[832] The other corn chicha is given by wives to unfaithful husbands to keep them from looking at other women. This last kind is called *punsetti* in Spanish, or *twistʃa'* in Boruca. To make the ordinary chicha, whole kernels of corn are broken or crushed on the *tumba*, then left in water overnight. They are ground again, and the *masa*, or ground corn, is wrapped in a leaf or leaves, usually from the plantain, and boiled as a tamale. When cooked, it is left in the same leaf and hung as

[p. 10-A]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

273 a rule on the wall outside of the house, but sometimes inside the house, for three days (see fig. 5, *b*). It is then taken out and rewrapped in the same leaf but this time using the outer side of the leaf on the inside, and left for three more days hanging on the outside wall. If a yellow mold appears, it is still used, but not considered as good as without the mold. At the end of the three days, it is unwrapped again and left in the sun until it is thoroughly dried, when it is considered suitable to use as yeast in the chicha. When green plantains are used, the *Boruca* prefer to dry them on stones by the river instead of in the customary manner on hides by the houses. When dry, the plantains are ground and added to the corn to ferment. This also is considered *moboso*, *monsera*, or yeast. When pejibaye, ñampí, yuca, or ripe plantains are used, they are cooked and then ground before being added to the corn.

The next step is to crack more corn, grind it, and let it soak overnight. It is then cooked until it starts to boil, when it is removed from the fire and mashed with a wooden masher (see fig. 2). Sufficient water is mixed with the corn to keep it from being either too hard or too soft. The grain is then mixed with the yeast. This concoction is left anywhere from six to fifteen days in *habas* lined with leaves. These *habas* are generally kept on the *tabancos*. At the end of the allotted time, the *haba* is taken to the river, and its contents emptied into gourds. Water is added to the paste which is pounded until it becomes soft. The chicha is usually kept in large earthenware jars, called *dze-bwi'-griŋ'*, in a corner of the house, and [251] covered with leaves or a cloth to keep for further use.

The corn for *twistʃa'* is made from corn that is left to sprout in water. When it has sprouted, it is ground on the *tumbas*, or grinding stones, and then cooked in a pot, after which it is left in wooden trays, called by the Spanish name *bateas*, to cool. When cooled, the corn is chewed by the women and the residue is spit into a clay vessel. Here it is mixed with water and brown sugar is added. It is then strained, put into a vessel, and left to ferment. The fermentation often takes place over night.

[p.10-B]

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
5A19 Talamanca 5A19
[P. 12(B)]
Bribri
Cabecar

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[65] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vege-
[245] tables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
272 raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
[439] sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
[243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
[273] chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared
[231] (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an ac-
[175] count written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[65] Stone, 1956.

[66] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[67] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

[P.16(B)]

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] [484] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 [272] The most common beverage is chicha, although it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] [484] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *bacu* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 342 [361] . . . in which are congregated all those of the same family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves unavailable (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 [192] The modern house is known in both languages as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb [91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when [252] planting; and as sieves, in particular for making *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

[531] The gourds are generally plain, and when decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made [322] with a metal point attached to a wooden handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

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Bribri
Cabecar

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and [415] rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [292] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [534] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is 824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for [251] drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [252] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

[P. 31 (B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

767 764 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is common to both Talamancan peoples and is covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an individual to designate the persons who must plant the maize to be used for the chicha at [273] the time of the bone funeral; to name those who are to make it; and those who have to provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has [756] also been absorbed by the medicine man.

764 **The já.** Back in the woodland, however, where authorities and visitors are scarce, the method of handling the dead adheres to former [775] usage. Things must be prepared for the soul of the deceased. This is done by those known as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three girls, or three boys, such as the case may be. Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are carried apart with the clothes of the dead. Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton. But when the deceased is a man, in addition to this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This [768] is done in order to leave the real ones for the family's use. A net carrying bag is also placed with the dead man.

[767] **First Burial.** When death takes over, the entire retinue of officials begin their work. Of course, customs vary depending upon the [656] geographical location. Government and eccle- [797] siastical authorities have prohibited the fundamental part of the ancient rites, that is, the keeping of the dead for a year before burial. Usually, the body is left in the house for about twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous villages on the Caribbean side. The personal belongings of the deceased, either in effect or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed beside the corpse which is then wrapped in *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a cotton string made especially for this purpose

[767] [583] tion between *sini* and *sinąbwak?* (*See* Social Organization.)

[109] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.
[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

765 of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is pre-
114 sented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca,"
[643] Santiago. This has the historic value of an eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chir-
[184] ripó is this type of funeral still practised, and at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[752] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the
[756] grande" or big house which was used for purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
533 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and sometimes a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[764] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pų*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an ex-
[824] tremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *surí* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has
[614] its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. After-
● [279] wards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

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765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[279] during the ceremony. Pittier [115] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Qualyst]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient
582 rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
614 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
224 stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated
[423] with given geographical sections (*see* Villages; Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[75] complete group and the medicine man in

[115] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[116] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

warns when it is going to rain by howling in the morning and in the afternoon.

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

of food and drink will be offered them. Conversation, in this case, is confined almost entirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

Women and young girls of the same family, particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bí	*rur*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bomitsyn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *sɔkɔŋé* which is a very strong term.

Reunions. Reunions, although pre-Columbian

[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipo* (coyeo).

traditions, are known by the Spanish term *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri, or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒo* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least sufficient food. Dancing with singing, particularly on the Caribbean side, forms part of the entertainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Qualys]

THE ARTS

Musical Instruments. Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three feet in height. Today they are made of palm or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsi* tree and is then tied with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá* houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

Tempo. There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The

[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Qual;ST]

[205] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

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476 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
574 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
273 aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[184] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see*
[534] Adornment), repay their host by giving their labor free until the project is completed. These affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep guarded by his female companions or vice-versa, and the joint work of the men begins as usual the following day lasting until noon.

THE ARTS

The
533 majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The
[534] accompaniment is formed by an accordion, guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany
[198] the dances are in a language not understandable to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

[535] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.